FELLOWSHIP

February 1949 • Vol. XV—No. 2 • 20 cents a copy—$2.00 a year

St. Valentine's Day

A Ton of Old Shoes, by George Hogle

Religion of the Lesser Evil, by John Swomley

Executions with a Straight Face, by Alfred Hassler

Peace, It's Wonderful, by Carl Colodne

THIS MONTH

A TRUCKLOAD OF SHOES started something in Petzen, where veteran-pacifist Wilhelm Mensching has translated his beliefs into "grass roots" living. George Hogle, who returned to this country last summer after more than a year working with Pastor Mensching, tells about it in *A Ton of Old Shoes*. . . . Carl Colodne waxes satirical about the new "army for peace" in *Peace, It's Wonderful!* . . . John Swomley tells of the impact of neo-orthodoxy on the campus in *Religion of the Lesser Evil* . . . and FELLOWSHIP'S editor, taking off from the hanging of more Japanese "war criminals," writes *Executions with a Straight Face.*

NEXT MONTH

FELLOWSHIP takes its readers traveling in March. . . . A. C. Barrington sends a *Letter from New Zealand*. . . . Henry H. Little, recently returned from a pilgrimage to Paraguay, offers *Minority Report on the Bruderhof,* which readers of Bruce Sumner's article last month will not want to miss . . . and Fred Nora, back from Europe, writes *Co-ops Come Back* . . . besides all which, it's Milton Mayer Month again.

FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

Brotherhood Note

This being Brotherhood Month, it is probably worth noting that the sovereign state of Mississippi has sentenced a man to five years in the penitentiary for having had a Negro great-grandmother.

It seems that in Mississippi Negroes have a much more potent influence on their descendants than do whites, the ratio running higher than 11.75 to 1.75, so that one Negro great-grandmother does more to determine the "race" of her great-grandson than do seven white great-grandparents, three and one-half white grandparents, and one and three-quarters white parents.

This is a surprising concession for a state like Mississippi to make, but there it is. The great-grandson has one-eighth "Negro blood" (a substance asserted by sovereign states and denied by anthropologists and medical men), and that, according to Mississippi, makes him a Negro, and obliges him to observe certain rules and regulations.

Since one of these rules has to do with marriage, it is the wisdom of the sovereign state of Mississippi that the two-year old marriage of Davis Knight, 23, Navy veteran and great-grandson of one Negro and seven whites, be voided, and Knight sentenced to prison for miscegenation.

Draft

Voluntary enlistments, the nonexistence of which was cited by Army spokesmen as requiring a peacetime draft, have been so large that the Army has cancelled all draft calls for February and March. Anyone who believes the Army will now recommend repeal of Selective Service will please go to the foot of the class.

Investigation

Weighty commissions and committees have been probing into matters of public interest on many fronts recently, and have come up with facts hitherto unknown in America except to some 140 million people. A Congressional committee

has found that auto dealers have been overcharging their customers, another dug out the interesting news that there is a housing shortage, and an arm of the Hoover Commission announces portentously that the armed forces spend money a lot more prodigally than they ought.

This is not to deprecate the commissions. The things that "everybody knows" frequently are the things on which nobody has any specific facts. With a new Congress just starting activities and the armed forces beginning a campaign to get more than the paltry fifteen billion dollars the President has promised them, it's helpful to know that (1) the cost of "defense" in the current fiscal year is $100 per person, as compared with $8 in 1938; that (2) the Army mislaid 9,000 tanks; that (3) the Army's 1950 budget requests funds for modernizing 103 more tanks than it owns; that (4) at another point in the budget a misplaced figure added $30 million; and that (5) the committee found in the military establishment "no sense of cost consciousness or general realization of conservation of our resources."

Sale

In line with the military's expense habits, we have a report to make on the Navy that may be illuminating.

On April 30, 1948, the Naval Supply Depot at Norfolk, Virginia, ordered from Fellowship Publications one copy of *The Two-Day War of 1968,* a 5-cent leaflet on conscription. Accompanying the order were three printed forms specifying in detail that the product must be first class in material and workmanship, "expedited," made in America, and billed in quintuplicate.

Impressed, as pacifists always are, by such efficiency, Fellowship Publications dug out a first-class copy and expedited it on its way, accompanied by a duly certified invoice for five cents, in quintuplicate.

Then, for six months, the bookkeeping department carried a 5-cent charge against the Navy, unpaid, and solemnly sent a statement to Norfolk each month. Persistence finally had its reward. Another official-looking envelope arrived in late October. Inside was a printed form, referring to the original order and requesting a duplicate invoice, in quintuplicate.

We can advise the Hoover Commission that after much heart-searching a note was dispatched (one copy only) advising the Naval Supply Depot that Fellowship Publications, under the circumstances, would waive the charge and supply the product free.

Book-Throwers

The radical seekers after peace have had a rough time of it recently in the public press, at least so far as a couple of columnists are concerned. Robert R. Ruark, a Scripps-Howard columnist and a veteran whose early postwar columns included some passionate anti-war stuff, is now mad because a Federal judge gave a non-registrant "only" a year and a day. He should, says Mr. Ruark, have "thrown the book" at the "draft-dodger."

At about the same time, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, another Scripps-Howard columnist, devoted her daily space to throwing the book at Garry Davis, the young enthusiast who renounced his American citizenship to become a "world citizen." The antics of Mr. Davis, who keeps trying frantically to prod UN delegates and other people into bestirring themselves about a real world government, amuse "those who know well what little value this flash-in-the-pan type publicity is," says Mrs. R.

It isn't that the two columnists want war, or even that they don't want what their particular victims do. Ruark hates war—he said so himself—and he thinks the draft "pointless" and "superficial." Mrs. Roosevelt hates war, too, and she's all in favor of improving the UN. What seems to be the trouble is that the nonregistrant and the world citizen insist on striking out for themselves, violating laws and established customs if necessary, when they should wait for the legislative mills to grind their slow and uncertain way.

Columnists Ruark and Roosevelt should step back a little, out of the crowd, to where they could see the horizon, and the cloud there, already bigger than a man's hand. Watching the way it races toward them, they might become as unreasonably importunate as the pacifists and the world citizens. The man who sees a cyclone at his heels is not likely to stop to wipe his feet before diving for the storm cellar.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Freeport, Minnesota, cannot have the services of a refugee Polish physician brought to this country by the town's Catholic parish. The doctor may not practice in Minnesota until he is an American citizen and a graduate of an American medical school, "or its equivalent."

* * *

The United Electrical Workers union has been denied on the grounds of possible "disloyalty" the right to represent workers in atomic energy plants, by joint action of General Electric and the Atomic Energy Commission. In a newspaper ad the union pointed out that between August 1940 and February 1948 General Electric has been brought into court by the Federal government eleven times, five of them criminal indictments. Among other things, GE was found guilty of a price-fixing conspiracy with Krupp and of collusive bidding on naval supplies.

* * *

According to Hanson W. Baldwin, Japanese and American leaders are discussing a "limited" rearmament for Japan, in the light of the "Soviet threat." Japan's constitutional renunciation of war and armaments, dictated by the U.S., is now recognized as "distinctly unrealistic," reports Mr. Baldwin.

* * *

The Navy is reported speeding up a program for building undersea tankers, troopships, freighters and radar picket ships "in coordination with a recently shaved-down estimate on the time remaining before the Soviet Union has the atomic bomb," says the *New York Star*.

The moving story of what happened when some American pacifists sent to a German village—

A Ton of Old Shoes

By GEORGE HOGLE

EARLY LAST SPRING there arrived one day in the lovely old yard of a house in Petzen, Germany, a truck carrying fifty-one sacks of shoes, a long-anticipated gift from the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship in America. Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, whose house it was, rushed in to put on some old clothes and, with his son and a helpful neighbor, unloaded the truck and stored the sacks securely away in the attic.

To Wilhelm Mensching, a leading FOR member in Germany and veteran pacifist, it seemed only appropriate that there should be a service of thanksgiving at which the whole village could be told of the gift. With the announcement of the service, however, the news spread like wildfire, and people started coming immediately to plead for shoes. Three representatives from the village's 1500 propertyless German refugees from the east came, too, fearful that their people might be omitted.

On the following Sunday evening the little 900-year-old church was filled to overflowing. Many came hoping that they could get shoes then; some of the children were barefoot. Pastor Mensching introduced me as a representative of the EPF, and asked me to make the presentation. Although grammatically weak, my German was good enough to tell them in their own language first what the Episcopal Church was, and that there were in this body a few hundred people associated together who tried to dedicate themselves fully to the way of peace and to take the teachings of Christ seriously, even in wartime. It was good to be able to say something about the opposition to the war and to the terrible bombing of their open cities, of trying to assist minorities in our own country and, finally, of wanting to hold the hand of friendship and aid out across the water to people whom we had never considered enemies. I explained that the EPF wanted to help in this community where it knew that Pastor Mensching and loyal followers were trying to carry out this same message of brotherhood. This token of their friendship finally had arrived in the form of a ton of used shoes. Compared to the vast need in Germany today, or in Petzen, it was small, but it came with heartfelt greetings.

A murmur rippled through the congregation. Most of them knew there were shoes but not that there would be so many. In one of the great German hymns of thanks that followed, one could, indeed, feel the spirit of gratitude. The Mayor, a carpenter, tall, fine-looking and with large, worn hands, accepted the gift on behalf of the village. Like the simple, kindly

folk they all were, he expressed in short and simple words how deeply they felt about this gift, and especially acknowledged how much Pastor Mensching's being there meant to the whole village. Recalling that the Pastor had sometimes been misunderstood and even bitterly attacked, he said that the people of Petzen now saw clearly that if only many leaders in the Church had stood out as he had, the terrible war and the vast, nameless suffering that came with it could have been avoided.

"Love Your Enemies"

Then Pastor Mensching spoke of the deep Christian implications of this gift, declaring that here was a great demonstration of the way of Jesus, to ". . . love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that spitefully use you and persecute you." Their own country had just come out of this fearful war that had left behind it so much hatred in many people; but now they were called upon to think again of the Christian message and of healing these wounds in the world.

There was a long silence. For me and for most of them there, it had been a profoundly moving experience, and as we took leave, a number of them, with their strong, gnarled hands, shook mine silently, their eyes showing their gratitude far more than words.

During the following days, Sunday-school teachers distributed the shoes and gave the message of the EPF to many who did not attend the service. I talked to some of the people and felt that here in this community an idea was taking even deeper root. Before long a group of young people suggested holding an international FOR conference at Petzen.

The idea caught on rapidly, and in a very short time it was organized, no small thing for a simple farm community. There were no facilities for lodging or feeding a large group of visitors, but families offered to take one or two or even three people into their already overcrowded quarters. Some couples got out of their own rooms to sleep on couches or in hallways to provide for guests, and many delved into their own limited larders to donate quantities of potatoes and other staples for the conference. Dishes and utensils appeared from nowhere and preparations were made for the bulk cooking to be done in the Mensching household. The meetings were to be in the school, outdoors, and in the church.

At last, on a beautiful spring weekend, there came together about thirty people, mostly young, who had been selected by FOR groups throughout Germany to come to this very special conference, plus another several dozen from the surrounding villages. There were international guests, including Nevin Sayre, Prof. Siegmund-Schultze, and people from England, the Scandinavian countries and Holland. For five days there were extraordinarily good meetings and a growth of fellowship among the participants. As with other FOR conferences in Germany, many of the young people went away saying that this had been one of the important experiences in their lives and that they had found something really significant for which to work.

The reaction in Petzen itself was

no less significant. A railroad conductor on his way home from work gripped my arm warmly and said that I could not realize how much that conference and its message had meant to his family and to the village, or the joy in having these friends from the outside with them. The event had certainly been another significant stepping-stone in the development of the pacifist message in the community, one of the few communities I have known where Christian pacifist ideas were right down in the grass roots, in farmers, tradesmen and workers—tribute to Pastor Mensching's twenty-three years there.

Training for Peace

All this time there had been stirring in the minds of Pastor Mensching and a few others the idea that if this message were to be spread more effectively there must be new and even better ways of doing it: that there should be a place where young people especially could be trained and thoroughly disciplined as "peace soldiers." Finally, one evening, out of a well-attended FOR meeting, there came the idea that such a peace school should be started there in Petzen.

With even personal subsistence a problem, such an undertaking seemed almost folly, even though they knew that the same sort of difficulties had faced André Trocmé and Edouard Theis when they started their international school in Le Chambon, France.

It was the sheer devotion of the simple village folk that gave the newly elected Board of Directors courage to keep at it in the following difficult weeks. A small area of land, which in Germany now is almost unobtainable at any price, finally was secured. Through the assistance of a British Youth Activities officer the material for four Quonset huts was obtained. Bricks were donated by a Jewish friend who had been in a concentration camp and in spite of it wanted to join in this effort for education toward peace and nonviolence. English Quakers gave blankets, utensils and other necessities, and from another public source a stove and a number of cots were obtained. Finally adults and young people in the village gave sacrificially of their work in planting a garden and building the first two huts.

The new school was to be called *Freundschaftsheim,* which means Friendship House. On the Board besides Pastor Mensching were a pacifist lawyer who has been a high government official in nearby Bückeburg, the leading farm official of Petzen, a successful liberal businessman, another pastor, and other recognized people in the area. The plan for *Freundschaftsheim* was that young people from Germany and from abroad would come there for a period of weeks or months, as "Peace Volunteers" and live in the still rather primitive huts. Their program would be fourfold:

1. In playing, singing and in other recreation together there would develop an enduring joyous spirit that would also help to break down any barriers they might at the start have felt toward one another.

2. There would be hard work together in developing a garden and new gardening methods for worn-out land, making more buildings for the school, and in other physical and social work together.

3. There would be study together where, with visitors from other countries or from their own neighborhood, they could have lectures, read important books together and discuss world problems in the light of nonviolence and Christian pacifism.

4. Finally, the whole would be grounded in a joint exploration of fundamental religious truths and the participation in a common prayer-life together. It was not to be the ordinary kind of school where one would get credits, but rather an experiment in trying to set up perhaps the European equivalent of a Gandhi ashram. It was hoped that from this place young people would return to their own communities as well-disciplined and educated workers for peace. There, they could be the nuclei of peace cells that could put new dedication and vitality into the peace movement of Europe.

The First Volunteers

July saw the completion of the first hut and the arrival of a half-dozen of the first young volunteers, mostly from the nearby villages. Soon, however, came a young Danish pastor, four young Englishmen from a workingman's college in Birmingham, a music teacher from north Germany, two English Quaker girls and an orphaned, wandering youth—the kind of which there are so many in Germany today. Pastor Mensching's very gifted daughter, Hanni, had just returned from six months of study in Quaker schools in England to take over the leadership. It was also expected soon that an extraordinarily fine Quaker couple, the Seutemanns, from Bad Pyrmont, would come to be house-parents. For them and for the development of the school, however, it would be necessary to build at least one real house, for which money would be needed.

But the *Freundschaftsheim* ran into difficulties at once through the currency reform, which occurred in June. A sizeable amount of money had been collected for the school, but with the reform had to be turned in at a ratio of ten old marks to one new! There will be more small contributions from friends throughout Germany, but it will be difficult from these sources,to raise enough for current operation, let alone to build the house. But, while the money comes in slowly, the work goes on.

Recently Pastor Mensching wrote:

> Every Monday and Thursday evening, I go up and discuss with the volunteers and other interested visitors questions of the spirit, religious life, philosophy and history. Every Tuesday evening, Boevers (the government official) comes and takes up questions of economics and politics. Wednesday and Friday evenings, Hanni leads singing, folk dancing, etc., during which we have also had very lovely chamber music evenings. Then, on Sunday evening we discuss the Bible stories of Jesus in particular. We still have many guests at Petzen who also speak to us: Margarete Achmund (recording clerk for German Quaker Yearly Meeting) was here and told us of the situation in Berlin; and on Sunday two good friends—one Swiss and one English—reported to us about international work camps . . . . next Sunday we are going to celebrate our annual Peace Festival, when we hope to have

a large number of our close friends from other villages join with us. Then, on Monday and Tuesday Muriel Lester will speak about her experiences in India and in the east end of London. Our volunteers seem to be very happy and, in fact, the music teacher who was here for almost her entire vacation has asked if a place cannot be saved for her during her next!"

Meanwhile, the EPF, which had pledged $2,000 to Petzen for the year 1948, agreed that the second $1,000, if available, should be used no longer for sending relief supplies which are not now so urgently needed, but for the very needed support of *Freundschaftsheim.* Should such outside support continue, it will, I am certain, be aiding one of the most significant works for peace in Europe today, and bring closer the realization of another such "Colony on the Hill" as is now at Le Chambon, France.

I know of few people who have a greater concern or vision for the solution of the East-West problem than Pastor Mensching. The association and support from devoted friends abroad reinforce him and his work, so that he wrote recently: "Above all, however, the ties with you, my friends, are something like the Bread and Water of my life . . . [The material aid which you give us is great, but] an even greater service for us would be if you could help to send young foreigners here as peace volunteers, and especially a young, devoted person who could stay here indefinitely, not only living with our young Germans but helping to lead them. We have seen that we can learn from you, and in the deeper things. . . . Especially do all in our house send to you, our friends over there, our warmest greetings and heartfelt thanks for everything that you have been and are still to our souls. Thy Wilhelm Mensching."

Visit in Petzen

By MURIEL LESTER

I spoke in Petzen's thousand-year-old church one evening, and also at lunch to a group of pastors and their wives in the home of a one-time Nazi minister, now a convinced and courageous pacifist. Wilhelm Mensching took me to the beginning of his *Freundschaftsheim,* where Hanni Mensching was doing solid useful work.

There are many stories of Hanni's unfailing cheerfulness under Nazi and later under Allied persecution. She befriended French prisoners during the war; and once she found an escaped Russian general, faint with hunger, waiting to give himself up. She took him home in full uniform although the Gestapo were in the parsonage. They had to hide him in the pigsty and feed him from a pig food bucket for weeks before he could escape.

She helped stabilize the family pattern upheld from 1933 when they first refused to help the Nazis, so well known and often tested that eventually it saved them in their moments of greatest peril: "The Menschings never lie." One of Hitler's most trusted and confidential deputies accepted this dictum as sufficient evidence in a trial.

Religion of the Lesser Evil

NEO-ORTHODOXY'S APPEAL TO DISCOURAGED YOUTH

By John M. Swomley, Jr.

THE COLLEGE STUDENT of these postwar years, like his seminary brother, is a confused and discouraged person. Oppressed by the terrific power of evil and depressed by his seeming inability to cope with it, he stands shaken and disturbed in a world in which all fixed points seem to have been jarred loose.

In that frame of mind, as can be discovered by anyone who visits American campuses as I do, an uncomfortably large number are turning to the tired clichés of neo-orthodoxy to find relief. What they find is a theology that comes dangerously close to being a rationalization for evil.

These students, caught up by the enormous prestige and undoubted brilliance of Reinhold Niebuhr, are by no means a majority—not yet, at any rate. They are not all of a theological bent, either. (Those who are either dismiss Jesus as a person who believed the world was shortly coming to an end and whose nonparticipation in violence is therefore of no example-value to us today, or they admit readily that Jesus was a pacifist but assert that he was unique and not to be imitated by men.)

Of course they do not ordinarily attempt to justify participation in any and every evil, though sometimes they come very close to it. It is when the discussion turns to war and peace that the shopworn neo-orthodoxian slogans about good and evil inevitably come out.

The "Perfectionist" Argument

The first of these slogans—"Pacifism is perfectionism"—is aimed at discrediting as irrelevant visionaries those who refrain from participation in war while giving themselves to peacemaking activities. Belying Jesus' admonition to be "perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect," this slogan is often used in such a way as to come very close to implying that the more perfect one becomes the more one permits evil to expand in influence. Thus, Christian pacifism is not labelled pagan or secular, but too perfectionist, and hence too Christian, to be relevant to the world in which we live. Virtue becomes a sin, and sin a virtue!

If this concept is valid, and perfection an undesirable attribute, then the Christian religion loses its claim to man's loyalty. A religion that bids us be less than good is not worthy of allegiance. The attitude of a man to the problems of life, war among them, ought to be determined by the nature of the religion he professes. If religion is worth while, it is not a standard to which one makes convenient exceptions, but a way of life involving one's full commitment. Any departure from that way of life should be a cause of sorrow and regarded

as an indication of human weakness rather than evidence that the religion is "too perfect."

The Choice of Evils

The second of the neo-orthodoxian arguments, hoary with age and battered by history, is the venerable "lesser-of-two-evils" position. It is based on three false premises: (1) that there are only two choices (for example, the acceptance of war or the acceptance of dictatorship); (2) that all evil is not of the same essence, and (3) that the evil you seek to avoid can be overcome by the evil you prefer to accept.

There are always more than two choices in a complex situation such as the world faces today, and the attempt to limit the choices to two is an oversimplification. In the context of war, such other choices exist as continued negotiation; national repentance with its creative, revolutionary and dramatic impact on the world scene; and nonviolent resistance as seen in India, and in parts of occupied Europe during Hitler's reign. Likewise the individual can choose to fight as a combatant or as a noncombatant or to resist through noncooperation or through the "second mile" approach. The statement that there are only two choices is really an affirmation that the individual is that limited in his own insight.

The assumption that a lesser evil is qualitatively different from other evil lacks proof unless one presupposes that the "lesser evil" has no deteriorative effect on the evildoer and hence does not lead him to perpetrate even greater evils. The problem of the qualitative sameness of the lesser to the greater evil is nowhere better illustrated than in the diary of Pierre Laval Why did Laval permit French agencies to persecute the Jews? Because the Gestapo would have been much worse! Why did he call for French "volunteers" to work in German factories? Because otherwise the Germans would have drafted them!

Jesus' whole position was summed up by Paul when he pointed out that you do not overcome evil with evil but with good. Jesus assumed that the end and the means are basically one. Soren Kierkegaard in comment on this idea wrote:

> Eternally speaking, there is only one means and there is only one end; the means and the end are one and the same thing. There is only one end: the genuine Good; and only one means: this is to be willing only to use those means which genuinely are good—but the genuine Good is precisely the end. In time and on earth one distinguishes between the two and considers that the end is more important than the means. One thinks that the end is the main thing and demands of one who is striving that he reach the end. He need not be so particular about the means. Yet this is not so, and to gain an end in this fashion is an unholy act of impatience.
>
> . . . Reaching the goal is like hitting the mark with his shot; but using the means is like taking the aim. And certainly the aim is a more reliable indication of the marksman's goal than the spot where the shot strikes. For it is possible for a shot to hit the mark by accident. The marksman may also be blameless if the shell does not go off. But no irregularities of the aim are permissible.

The third bastion of neo-orthodoxy is the argument that men achieve love through justice. Admitting that the goal of society—the Kingdom of God or the Christian Community—is a loving society, this argument insists that such a society can be only partially achieved and then only through the establishment of justice. The establishment of justice, in turn, may involve the use of violence and war as methods for destroying unjust rule or resolving conflicting human interests.

This is a reversal of the process Jesus followed. He advocated the method of love as the way to achieve the end of justice. If justice is a correct relationship between persons, love is the spirit and method by which correct relations are established. A just society is a community wherein everyone has the right to be free and secure. Such rights, however, are not automatic; they are created by the love motive, which we call "brotherhood" or "concern for others." Moreover, love goes beyond justice, since it involves reconciliation and mercy as well as rights, and a willingness to be acted upon and changed in order that the needs of others may be met. This willingness to undergo, seen at its best in the suffering of Jesus and such men as Gandhi, is part of the process by which men move into right relationships with each other.

"Everyone Involved"

Finally, this theology holds that "everyone is involved in evil"—that we are all implicated in evil and therefore it is impossible to refuse to participate in war.

It is, of course, unarguable that in a complex society like ours no one can refrain absolutely from evil. The very purchase of a loaf of bread means the payment of hidden taxes, some of which are used in support of war or military preparations. Likewise, I bear a responsibility for the slums in my city, if only because I am a part of a community that permits them to exist.

This is an important antidote for those of us who take pride in our pacifism, and a much-needed emphasis—provided that we do not use it as a justification for participation in evil. The fact that I share responsibility for slums, poverty, and other conditions that breed crime, is not a rationale for my robbing a bank. Nor should my partial and inescapable responsibility for war and its causes be a reason for joining the Army.

The converse of this idea that we are all involved in evil is the no less valid point that we are also involved in good! We share responsibility for the cooperation and justice and equality that society has already demonstrated at so many points, just as we share in society's guilt for the injustices that exist. And if it can be said that we are all implicated in evil, it can also be said that we are all, however sinful, also implicated in good. Does it not therefore follow that we ought to throw our weight as much as we can in the direction of love, cooperation, equality, and peace, so that society is the richer for our living?

The derision of perfectionism, including the tendency to sanctify the lesser evil and to justify involvement in war and sin, is evidence of a theology of despair. A theology of hope, though recogniz-

ing human frailty, would emphasize our commitment to the highest, our duty to choose the greater good, and our responsibility for contributing to society as much of innocence and love as we can.

A theology of despair encourages penitence during and after participation in war, but seldom goes beyond this to include penitence for preparations for future wars. Hence it does not require change to another course of action. A theology of hope, on the other hand, emphasizes penitence with the aim of not repeating the act for which we repent.

A theology of despair necessarily looks to the grace of God as pardon for evil, whereas a theology of hope conceives of grace as power enabling us to act from a spirit of love. But however earnestly we try to analyze others' theologies and construct our own, we must remember that there are tests more important than theological reasoning. It was said of John Calvin that his theology emphasized the evil in man, and of Rousseau that his philosophy emphasized the good in man—and that each proved the other's thesis.

Peace, It's Wonderful!

By CARL COLODNE

WHAT'S 'AT, SOLDIER?

I didn't say nothin', sarge.

Listen, soldier, this bag here is for you to hit. Now come on, dig with the knife! Hip!

What's the bag supposed to be, the atom bomb?

What's 'at, soldier?

All I said was, what's the bag . . . ?

Ah-ten-shun!

Now, listen, soldier. We want you to understand what you're doing in this here voluntary draft army. We want you to know. We want you to know what peace means. We want you to keep your morale up. No more cussin', see? We want you to keep clean.

What's 'at, soldier?

I didn't say nothin', sarge.

You're in the army for peace. Got that? Now, for peace, you've got to learn to kill to the best of your ability and scientific knowledge. Understand? When the birds drop the a-bombs, for peace, you've got to learn how to get in and mop up, for peace.

What's 'at, soldier?

All I said, sarge, was what kind of mop . . . ?

I'm talkin' about mopping up, for peace. Understand? If there's anything left, you got to learn to burn it.

What's 'at, soldier?

All I said, sarge, was, that's right, for peace.

Yeah, that's right, for peace. And if there's anybody left, you've got to learn to starve them out.

For peace, sarge!

Now you're catchin' on, soldier.

Listen, soldier, and remember, you're in the army for peace. We don't want war, nobody wants war, but just in case we have one, we've got to learn, for peace. For peace, soldier, you're got to learn to spread these poison gases and kill as many of them ;—!—x's as you can. All for peace, remember. It's you or them, soldier, for peace. You've got to spread these here bacteria and kill as many of them !**'s as you can, for peace.

What's 'at, soldier?

And for international understanding, too, sarge.

Now, you're gettin' the idea, soldier.

And honest cooperation and conferences, sarge.

What's 'at, soldier?

In other words, sarge, for peace.

Now, you're talkin', soldier! —What's 'at, soldier?

I only said, what peace? That's all I said, sarge.

Button your lip, soldier. I said shut up, for peace and freedom, don't forget freedom, soldier. Listen, soldier, you ain't fightin' the last war. This war, I mean this peace is for peace, this peace is to end all peace, I mean all war, the war to end all—

What's 'at, soldier? Did I hear you say somethin'? Button your lip, soldier, for freedom's sake!

"How'd you get in? . . . the draft or one of them radio commercials where they promised to teach you a trade. . . ?"

Listen, soldier, we've got atomic bombs that'll rocket a thousand miles, for peace. We've got bombs that'll make Hiroshima look silly, for peace. We've got planes that'll shoot like stars to anywhere, for peace. We've got atomic clouds of radiation, that'll make everything else look silly, for peace.

What's 'at, soldier?

I only said, it'll sure bring peace, that's all, sarge.

That's better, soldier. What's 'at, soldier?

I only said, it'll sure bring peace, peace like a graveyard.

Listen, soldier, quit spittin' on the parade ground. We want you guys to keep clean. And any more of your lip, and I'll have you court-martialled, for peace.

Don't forget freedom, sarge.

Yeah, that's right, soldier, peace and freedom.

Hip! Hip! About face! Backward march!

What, after all, constitutes the good society but the continual private practice of each man's goodness?

—From "The Emperor's Newest Clothes," by Dachine Rainer, *Retort*, Spring, 1948

Executions with a Straight Face

By ALFRED HASSLER

A FEW DAYS BEFORE Christmas the United States demonstrated once again to its own satisfaction that its Army can hang men by the neck until they are dead no matter how exalted personages they may have been in the past. In the execution of two former Premiers of Japan with five lesser notorieties, the victorious Allies continue to maintain the worn and shaky fictions enumerated at Nuremberg: that wars are caused by individuals with bandit mentalities and that all the war crimes were committed by one—the losing—side. Another fiction it maintained, equally worn but still firmly believed by millions, is the crime-deterrent qualities of punishment. All three deserve some consideration in the light of the events at Sugamo Prison.

War by Bandits

One is driven to assume that the judges of the international tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo were men without humor and without humility. Either quality, present in perceptible amounts, would have caused them to gag over the implications of the trials concerning responsibility for the war. In the light of the mounds of evidence available to literate persons before the war, during the war, and since the war, it is impossible for such persons to believe that Hitler, or Tojo, or their aides, or all of them together, bear the sole responsibility for the war.

That responsibility lies on all nations, and on all peoples, unequally perhaps, but unmistakably. Penologists and psychologists have made it clear that the roots of criminal behavior in individuals lie far back in years—often in the events of childhood, and often in the pressures of an exploitative, competitive community.

The same thing is true among nations. The criminal selfishness and petty vengeance of Versailles helped form a Hitler and a Germany that would accept him, as the enmity and contempt of the West have helped to make Stalin secure in the East. The British naval blockade of Germany, helping to starve German children for months after the end of the war, helped to make the Germany of 1939, and the architects of that policy ought to have been in the dock at Nuremberg, if anyone was.

The financial and political interests of the years that followed, subverting human values to profits and democracy to the quest for power—they were guilty, too. The broken promises of the peace treaties; the refusal to rescue the Weimar Republic floundering in a morass of reparations and postwar depression; the financial and moral encouragement given to Hitler as a "bulwark" against the Soviet Union—did none of these even raise the question of "reasonable doubt" in the minds of the judges?

And as for Japan, the antecedents of the "sneak attack" on

Pearl Harbor are equally murky, and equally incapable of adding the lustre of childlike innocence to the politics and policies of the United States. There was, readers will remember, a long period during which America accepted a silent partnership in Nippon's expansionist excursions in China, through the shipment of high-octane gasoline and other war material, some of which later was used to kill American boys. Following that, when Japan's Western-emulating imperialists turned south and threatened American and British interests, the policy of extreme embargo and ultimatum practically invited war. In the diary of then-Secretary of War Stimson appears the revealing statement: ". . . the question was how we should maneuver them (the Japanese) into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition."[1]

There is a frantic persistence on the part of those who must know better to perpetuate this oversimplified explanation of how wars come about, but even the commonest of the common people no longer accept it easily. The executions are more likely to stimulate the doubts than to allay them.

War Crimes

Apart from the major crime of instigating the war, the various tribunals in Germany and Japan have held up for the horrified examination of the world various other "crimes," presumably going beyond the accepted limits of barbarity in the prosecution of war.

There is no need to minimize the atrocities that were perpetrated by both Germans and Japanese to throw doubt on the validity of these judgments. Justice is not justice unless it is equal. When it applies only to the vanquished, with the victor in the role of prosecutor and judge alike, it becomes vengeance and retaliation, which breed hatred and a desire for more vengeance.

Atrocities and "war crimes" are a part of war, and they are committed by both sides. The evidence of such crimes on the part of the victorious Allies is not as voluminous, except in the case of Russia, the new "enemy," but it exists. It exists in the minds of thousands of ex-combat troops, who saw that "Americans shot prisoners in cold blood, strafed life rafts, mutilated the bodies of enemy dead, and mistreated enemy civilians."[2]

It exists in the "saturation bombing" and fire-bombing of German cities, where the Berlin correspondent of a Swiss newspaper described a typical bombing in these terms: "A blanket of fire covering the entire area and rushing up to ever greater heights in one compact body, will suck up the last remains of oxygen from all rooms, shelters, and cellars. At the same time the temperature in the shelters rises unbearably, but the people are prevented from leaving by the constant rain of high explosives, incendiaries, and phosphorus bombs. . . . Those who remained in the shelters were not only suffocated and charred, but reduced to ash."[3]

And it exists preeminently in

[1] Quoted in the *Congressional Record*, May 12, 1948.

[2] From "I'm An Ill-Adjusted Veteran," by Edgar L. Jones.

[3] The *Baseler Nachrichten*, September 20, 1943.

the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, atrocities beside which the worst that history has to offer is dwarfed. Two cities razed to the ground without warning; 100,000 men, women and children killed and an equal number wounded in two instants of time; the release on the world of a force that may logically result in generations of deformed and monstrous beings, or even the wiping out of humanity itself. How can the hue and cry rise so feverishly against the Ilse Kochs and their lampshades of human skin, and not cry to justice the men whose decision has its monument in cities of human ashes? Particularly, how can war crimes be considered seriously without them, when the evidence of our own investigators demonstrated that not even military strategy could justify the atom-bombings?

But even on the level of individual acts of sadism, the crimes are not confined to Buchenwald and the Philippines. When I was a prisoner in Lewisburg, there were several hundred Army prisoners there, serving terms of from five years to life on the basis of military courts-martial. From them, repeatedly, came stories of horrible mistreatment of American soldier-prisoners in Army stockades and prisons in England, at Casablanca, at Schofield Barracks in Hawaii, and elsewhere. Stories of beatings with rifle-butts; stories of confinement in subsurface stone cells, dark and ankle-deep in water; stories of confinement in wooden box-cells just large enough to allow a man to stand upright, in the broiling sun of Casablanca; stories of being marched nude back and forth across the parade ground before their fellow soldiers; stories of graves dug behind the prisons for prisoners who died of beatings or other mistreatment.

The men who told the stories would not sign complaints, of course. Their only chance for release lay with the Army, and they would not jeopardize it. But there was too much smoke, from too many sources, for there to be no fire, and on my release I carried the story to a prominent attorney, a close friend of the President. He assured me that there was nothing to it. Indeed, he said, on the basis of similar rumors he had twice made trips to the very prisons I named in England, including Lichfield, at the President's request. He had found no evidence of any such activities.

That was April, 1945. In April, 1946, the story broke of just such mistreatment at Lichfield. The trial was summary, and the officers in charge got away with little more than a reprimand. But they were war crimes, and against our own soldiers.

Punishment as a Deterrent

Society in general, whatever its private professions, still clings to the notion that punishment is a deterrent to crime, and it is there that the plaudits ring loudest for the war trials. But if those of us who spent part of the war years in company with many "criminals" learned anything, we learned that Tolstoi knew what he was talking about when he said that "the criminal justifies his crime." And that is especially true, of course, when there is no universally recognized law, clearly stated and equally applied.

Former Premiers Tojo and Hirota occupied in their country in the pre-World War II years positions comparable to that of Harry S. Truman or George Marshall in this country in the pre-World War III years, if that war should chance to come soon rather than late. In the eyes of a hostile court, the moves that Mr. Truman calls "in the national interest"—moves to arm Greece and Turkey, to combat communism and Communists everywhere—could be interpreted as aggressive and inciting to war, as they may very well be. There is no sign, however, that the results of the trials have inhibited Mr. Truman's willingness to pursue a policy of military preparedness, nor increased the apprehensions of his numerous helpers in Congress, the Administration and the armed forces.

What the trials have demonstrated, of course, is that you're a war criminal if you lose. The likeliest effect, in future wars, will be a heightened determination to win, and a refusal to talk peace even when the cause is hopeless, since the leaders will know that their lives are forfeit either way. It seems little enough to have salvaged from six years of conflict!

The Umbrella

Clare Booth Luce, on a nationwide lecture tour, urged adoption of "Five Ps for Peace." These were "patience," "propaganda," "preparedness," "pressure" and "prayer," she said. She also stated the atomic bomb is an "umbrella for peace," and stressed the necessity for America keeping its A-bomb secrets exclusively.

"Many people think of the atomic bomb as a dreadful and terrible thing—a menace to civilization," she said. "But they forget it is also a great protector and preserver of civilization, because except for it, the Russians would move right into the power vacuum in Europe and Asia."

—From a recent news story.

The Christian lady sweetly rests;
her heart's at peace, her mind is calm.
She need not say her prayers; she lies
protected by the atom bomb.

Now all good Christian men rejoice;
let others pray, if pray men must.
The heathen bows to wood and stone,
but in the atom bomb we trust.

The prophet's voice need not assail;
the man upon the cross is dumb.
Why should God pour his Spirit out?
The bomb has filled our vacuum.

PEGGY POND CHURCH

News from the Peace Front

Non-Registrant Total Higher Now Than During Wartime Draft

Larry Gara, instructor in government at Bluffton (Ohio) College and an ex-prison CO of the war years, was arrested in early January and charged with counselling to violate the Selective Service Act. His is the first arrest known to have occurred on this charge in the continental United States, where 300 ministers have openly urged non-registration on draft eligibles.

The Central Committee for COs, through Caleb Foote, reports that there are already more known non-registrants under the Selective Service Act of 1948, in spite of the smaller number of men of draft age, than there were during World War II. If indignant exhortations by draft officials and threats of fine and imprisonment for refusal to register are an indication, there must be considerably more non-registrants than those who consider themselves conscientious objectors.

Gilbert H. McFadden, 19, student at UCLA; Atlee Shidler, 21, La-Verne College; Walter J. Coppock, 21, and Arthur M. Emlen, 21, Occidental College, received three-year sentences in the court of U. S. Judge Peirson M. Hall in Los Angeles for refusing to register.

David S. Coffman, 24, an orderly at Elgin State Hospital and a pre-medical student at Church of the Brethren College, was arrested in November for non-registration.

David Jensen, Harvey Marshall, Dave Wyman, Russell Henderson, Herbert Hoover, Herbert Standing and Leland Standing, seven of the 22 non-registrants in the William Penn College circle, have been indicted.

Henry J. Standing, a cousin of Herbert and Leland Standing, and a former William Penn student, was indicted with them.

A warrant has been issued for Arlo Tatum, who was away from William Penn on a concert tour.

Robert H. Peters, Jr., 20, of Lake Worth, Florida, was arraigned with Newton Garver in Philadelphia on October 29 and had a further hearing on November 12. He served in the Army for 18 months and was honorably discharged in January 1948. After the hearings his case was referred back to his local board, which put him in 3C classification, that of deferment for veterans, and apparently intends to leave him there.

Twelve non-registrants at Garrett Biblical Institute have formed a Peacemakers Cell there.

Robert H. Beach, 24, student at Roosevelt College in Chicago and ex-CPS man, was indicted in late November, with Claire Street, Gregory Votaw and David S. Coffman.

Robert H. Somers, 19, student at Antioch College, was arrested on November 19, arraigned and released on bond. He is a member of

the FOR and Peacemakers, and a premedical student.

Robert E. Reuman, 25, philosophy instructor at Temple University who is working for his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania, was arrested on December 10 for refusal to register. Reuman spent nearly three years in CPS during the war.

Eligible by One Day, Gets Three Months

Three months in the county jail was the sentence meted out by Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman to non-registrant Rev. Robert Meyners, FOR member and assistant pastor of San Francisco's Fellowship Church of All Peoples.

Meyners, who is 26, would have been out of the age-group required to register had he been born one day earlier than he was, and is overage for the draft itself. In addition, he would have been entitled to deferment as a conscientious objector, a minister, and a married man. He refused the court's offer to drop the case if he would reconsider and register, however.

Seventy-five members of Meyners' congregation were present in court and heard the debate between Judge Goodman and the minister.

Anti-Draft Demonstrators Indicted in Puerto Rico

Twelve people who picketed registration places during the registration period in August and September in Puerto Rico, many of them FOR members, were indicted by a Grand Jury there, on charges of counseling men not to register and for conspiring to counsel them not to register. Nine of those involved were people from the United States who are teaching or working in Puerto Rico, and three were native Puerto Ricans.

The ten who picketed, carried signs, and passed out leaflets condemning militarism and urging men not to register, or to register as COs, were Lillian and Bob Pope, Ilo Stewart, Harland Gibson, Frances Walker, Elmer Oleson, Domingo Marrero, Geraldine Clark, and Shirley and Hal Lasky. Two Puerto Ricans who had helped by making signs but had not picketed, and who have likewise been indicted, were Rafael Navarro Cadiz and Manuel Negron Nogueras. Their cases are expected to come up at the regular session of the court, sometime in March or April.

Mutual Aid Food Package Service

The Mutual Aid Food Package Service, at 38 Eighth Avenue, New York City 14, has an advantage—several, in fact—over the CARE and other food packages which are sent out by the big companies. Mutual Aid provides lists of the materials it will include in its packages and allows the customer to pick out the items he wishes. This makes it possible to fill specific needs. The Service guarantees delivery, and delivers generally in three to five weeks. In spite of the fact that CARE can order supplies in tremendously large quantities and therefore get them cheaper, the Mutual Aid packages are little, if any, more expensive.

The Mutual Aid Service will forward parcels to any country, including Hungary, Rumania and Russia.

Journey Members Lose N.C. Appeal

Four members of the widely reported "Journey of Reconciliation," one of them a national FOR secretary, face 30-day terms on the infamous North Carolina road-gang as the result of an adverse ruling by the North Carolina Supreme Court in early January.

The four men are Bayard Rustin, FOR race-relations secretary, Igal Roodenko, Joe Felmet, and Andrew Johnson, who were sentenced by a lower court on a charge growing out of incidents in connection with the Journey at Chapel Hill. Sponsors of the trip are discussing an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The Journey took sixteen young men, Negro and white, on a bus trip through four Southern states in the spring of 1947. Throughout the trip, the men refused to abide by jimcrow regulations, counteracting the resentment that was aroused by the deliberate use of nonviolent good will. The story of the trip was subsequently published under the title *We Challenged Jim Crow,* and its leaders, Bayard Rustin and George Houser, were presented with Jefferson Awards by the American Council Against Intolerance.

Other cases against Journey participants, in both North Carolina and Virginia, ended in victory for the men when the charges were dropped by prosecuting agencies.

Bayard Rustin has been in India for several months, and will not reach the United States until some time in March. Felmet, a resident of Asheville, North Carolina, has been refused admittance to the bar there.

Amherst Fraternity Pledges Negro

The policy of most college fraternities, which exclude Negroes from membership, came in for a great deal of discussion throughout the nation during November and December. The Amherst chapter of the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity decided to pledge Thomas Gibbs, 19-year-old Negro honor student, athlete, and member of the student council, and asked its national organization what the policy was. The policy was against it, they found, but after discussion they pledged Gibbs in spite of it.

The National President of Phi Kappa Psi then suspended the chapter, and on November 28 the fraternity's executive council upheld his action. Since then actions and reactions have been coming in from all over the country. On November 16 the alumni of the Johnstown, Pa., chapter, sent a statement to the national office and copies to all the chapters, demanding the revocation of the Amherst chapter's charter for its "inconsiderate, wilful, dishonest, oath-breaking" action, and demanding that Negroes and Jews and everyone else they considered reprehensible be barred from the fraternity by constitutional amendment. They expressed their "deep indignation and justifiable wrath," and referred to the "shame which we now and forever must bear." On November 19 a member of the Columbia chapter, who was a past president of the chapter, resigned in protest at the anti-Negro position of the fraternity. On December 16 seven members of the Swarthmore chapter, including the president, resigned.

In contrast to the Johnstown members' outraged feelings were those expressed by officials of Columbia and Amherst. Dean Harry J. Carman of Columbia College, when asked to comment, said: "I am in sympathy with the action of the boys at Amherst."

Even more encouraging was the statement of Dr. Charles Cole, President of Amherst. "There is no question as to where our sympathies lie," he said. "We are extremely proud of the action and attitude of the Amherst Phi Psi, which exemplifies the democratic spirit of Amherst College."

Discrimination Barred In Jersey Pools

Discrimination against or exclusion of Negroes from public swimming pools in New Jersey was declared illegal in December by the New Jersey Superior Court in a unanimous decision handed down in the Melba Valle case. The court held that, although the statute does not specifically mention swimming pools, it was meant to apply to "any place of public accommodation, resort or amusement." This decision may have far-reaching effects, since a number of other states have similar statutes.

The Valle case grew out of the campaign of New York CORE to abolish discrimination in the Palisades Park Swimming Pool, in an amusement park across the river from New York City. CORE members were arrested and beaten by police while picketing the pool and distributing leaflets, on several occasions, and returned again and again to the pool.

Miss Valle's case will now be returned to the lower court to be tried on the basis of the facts.

Another similar case was dismissed in November by District Judge John Lynn, who ruled that the anti-discrimination law did not apply to swimming pools because they were not specifically mentioned in it. He was ruling on the case of Charles Storey, a Negro who was denied admission to the pool last May 29, and the case is being appealed. Miss Valle's case stems from the summer of 1947, and had also been dismissed in the lower courts.

Peace Notes to All College Students

John Swomley's office is publishing a monthly newsletter, called *Peace Notes,* with news of international and national import, and of special interest to college students and professors. It is sent free to such people, and John would like to be notified by any students or professors who are not now receiving *Peace Notes,* so that they may be put on the mailing list. Many men have been overlooked because when they joined the FOR, they were in CPS, and their college status was not listed. Please include the name of the college and year of graduation, if you are a student.

Piano lessons for children and adults. Experienced teachers. College degree in Public School music. Will come to your home (Manhattan or vicinity). Mrs. Stanewick, LEhigh 4-9761.

WANTED: Your life, in ARMY OF GOD! Exclusive, Gandhian, transforming. Details, write G. Robert Tipton, M. R, 3, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Army Abolished, Costa Rica Invaded

Pacifists and other liberals all over the world have been watching with interest the events in Costa Rica, the little Central American country which on December 1 abolished its army, leaving only a national police force. The action was announced by President Jose Figueres, who took control of the government by revolution last May. The Bellavista Fortress, which had housed army headquarters, was turned over to the Ministry of Education for a museum.

On December 10, however, the country was invaded from Nicaragua, which borders Costa Rica on the north, and whose dictator, Somoza, had been charging that Costa Rica planned to invade *his* country. The invaders were said to be under the leadership of former President Rafael Calderon Guardia, who was ousted by Figueres in last May's revolution. The avowed purpose of the May revolt was to place Otilio Ulate in the presidency. He had been elected by popular vote, but the election was annulled by the Guardia-dominated Congress.

In the election last spring, Guardia was supported by labor unions, liberals, and Communists, and Ulate was a conservative, supported by the church and coffee growers. After seizing the government in Ulate's name and taking office himself, however, Figueres introduced a liberal land reform and began to work toward cooperation among the little Central American states. He had fought on the side of the republicans in the Spanish Civil War.

Figueres, who rushed to reassemble the disbanded army, claims that the Costa Ricans among the invaders are fronting for the troops of the Nicaraguan National Guard, and San Jose press reports claimed that the invasion force also included 350 Mexican Communists.

On December 14 the Council of the Organization of the American States, which includes North and South American countries, appointed a commission to inquire into the Costa Rican invasion. On the same day the Costa Rican government announced the defeat of the invaders.

British FOR Takes German Children

In a plan to bring two hundred German children to England for rest and recuperation, British pacifists will act as temporary foster parents. The children will be brought to Britain for periods ranging from one to six months, under the Children's Hospitality Committee of the British FOR. The people who are taking children into their homes will bear the expenses involved in supporting them while they are there, but travel expenses are likely to be heavy. The American FOR has made a contribution of $100 to the project from its War Victims Fund, but further contributions will be necessary to carry it through.

The American Medical Association, opposing a national health program as "collectivism" and "socialism," has assessed its 140,000 members $25 each to finance a collective propaganda campaign against it.

Flying Heifers

In the December issue of FELLOWSHIP this department reported that the Heifers for Relief organization had been sending goats to Japan and was planning to send 200 heifers to Venezuela to help out with the Displaced Persons project of that country. It now appears that the heifers will fly, at the cost of the Venezuelan government. Venezuela has arranged to relocate and settle 50,000 European refugees, and the heifers are urgently needed for the reception center now being set up to receive them.

It was mistakenly reported in our December issue that the headquarters of the Heifer Project Committee was in Pasadena. It was from there that the goats for Japan and Okinawa were shipped, but the main headquarters of the Committee are at New Windsor, Maryland.

Atom Scientists Going Blind

Dr. Joseph G. Hamilton, medical physicist of the University of California, said on December 20 that five American scientists are going blind because of radiation from atom-smashing machines. He said that they had suffered injuries to their eyes while working with cyclotrons or other atom-smashers at colleges and other experimental centers. He denied, however, that any atomic bomb workers were affected.

Have you sent in your 1949 gift or pledge to the FOR? It will help a lot if you do it today, and will save you the annoyance of further mailings from the national office.

FOR Members Among Olivet Purgees

Three members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation were among five professors dropped from the faculty of Olivet (Mich.) College in a purge of liberal teachers that began last August with the dismissal of Prof. T. Barton Akeley, of the Political Science Department, and Mrs. Akeley, the college librarian. The Akeleys, who were on vacation in Mexico when they were notified of the action of the college, had been reelected to the faculty three months before with increased salaries.

The new purgees are Dr. Tucker Smith, economics instructor and vice presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket last fall; Dr. Carleton Mabee, head of the History Department and a Pulitzer Prize winner in 1946; Dr. Arthur Moor, director of the Fine Arts Department; Dr. Julian Fahy, head of the Political Science Department; and Dr. Herbert Hyde, of the Music Department. Smith, Mabee, and Moor are FOR members.

Olivet, a Congregational institution, has enjoyed a reputation as the country's leading center of progressive higher education, a circumstance that has led to frequent crises with conservative members of the Board of Trustees and older alumni. The current purge began when the trustees elected Dr. Aubrey Ashby president, to succeed Dr. Malcolm Boyd Dana. Dr. Ashby has made no secret of his determination to have Olivet present a more conventional appearance to prospective large benefactors, and the student body has been in a ferment of rebellion since August.

Jottings

Science, Liberty and Peace, by Aldous Huxley, has been translated into Spanish and published in Buenos Aires by the South American FOR.

Bayard Rustin, FOR Racial-Industrial Secretary who left for Europe on October 1 and travelled in England, on the Continent and in India until the middle of February, will return to New York on March 7. He has been the guest of the Governor General of India, Rajagopalachari, at Government House in New Delhi, and has made speeches and talked with many people throughout the country. He spent much of his time with Devadas Gandhi, son of the Mahatma.

An interchurch communion service was held in the Civic Auditorium in Milwaukee in November under the auspices of the United Council of Churchwomen, with an excellent attendance. Dr. Howard Thurman, FOR member and co-pastor of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco, and Dr. John Beigeleisen, Professor of Old and New Testament at Eden Theological Seminary, officiated. Bishop Benjamin F. P. Ivins of the Episcopal Church had declared that "no intelligent or loyal churchwoman can participate in, nor should be present at such a service," and held an Episcopal service simultaneously. Only eight women attended.

On November 8 Nathuram Vinayak Godse, the assassinator of Gandhi, read a 30,000-word statement to the court which is trying him, admitting that he had done it, and blaming Gandhi for the sufferings of the Hindus in the upheavals attending India's partition. He apparently was incensed beyond endurance by what he considered Gandhi's pro-Moslem attitude, and declared that the background of his act was "wholly and exclusively political."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Pakistan, known as "the Frontier Gandhi" because he was a leader in the nonviolent movement for India's freedom and a close friend of Gandhi, has been tried and sentenced to three years' imprisonment by the Pakistan government. The only explanation given is that he was tried "for an offense under Section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations."

Austria's Socialist Party, which has a reputation as one of the most dependable anti-totalitarian forces in Europe, in December concluded a four-week drive for new members. No fewer than 61,152 new members were enrolled, bringing the present total membership to 631,920. Every tenth inhabitant of the country is now a registered, dues-paying Socialist. (WP)

New Zealand will admit and care for a thousand refugees, with the specific proviso that they be orphans, widows, or aged people of no economic use to the country. (WP)

Books

Great Soul

Nehru On Gandhi. The John Day Company, 1948. 150 pp. $2.00.

For a Westerner this is in many respects the best of the short books on Gandhi. This excellence I am sure of because reading the book revived in me so vividly the many memories I have of the months that I lived with Gandhi both at his Sabarmati ashram and on a long visit that he made in Calcutta. Nehru is a keen, sensitive observer and thinker who has a fine, vigorous style of writing. His education in England together with his Indian inheritance and experience makes him peculiarly fitted to help Westerners to understand and appreciate Gandhi. And of course his long and close association with Gandhi, working and suffering with him in the struggle for Indian freedom, also gave him a peculiarly rich understanding of that great man.

The book is not a biography; it is a series of historical sketches, episodes, comments and estimates culled from Nehru's many books and speeches. One is grateful to the publisher for putting them together so skillfully.

About the book I have only one regret. That is that Nehru's agnostic position, amounting sometimes almost to hostility toward religion, makes him unable to understand Gandhi's spiritual core. He recognizes it but does not appreciate or adequately value it. Nevertheless I highly recommend this book. Most of its material and knowledge can be found nowhere else. We owe it to ourselves and to our work for a better world to try to comprehend the greatest and most spiritual man of our age.

—Richard B. Gregg

Gandhi's Technique

Satyagraha: The Power of Truth, by R. R. Diwakar, Introduction by Clifford Manshardt. Henry Regnery Co., 1948. 138 pp., $2.00.

The publication of this small book is by far the most important event in years in the pacifist publication field. All who are actively interested in civil disobedience to the draft and in developing an effective movement to apply nonviolence in social and political action should get a copy at once, read it, study it and commit it to memory. And to those pacifists or non-pacifists who may not be actively interested in this phase of pacifism or type of social action, this book is of almost equal importance because it is the clearest, freshest, most succinct and also most rounded manual available as to how Gandhi actually worked and how others may work in the same spirit and use the same techniques.

One of the best things about this

book from the standpoint of its use in Western lands is that it talks about pacifism or nonviolence, not as something esoteric or bizarre, but as the sensible way to handle human affairs and especially conflicts. It does this in a way which any high school graduate can understand and enjoy.

The book was published in India in 1947. I regret to say that I do not know anything about the author, nor do the publishers tell us anything about him on the jacket, an omission they ought to remedy. There is, however, a translation of an introduction to the Indian Edition, which is written by K. G. Mashruwala, now editor of Gandhi's famous paper *Harijan*, and who considers the book entirely adequate. This introduction is, by the way, an important essay in its own right dealing with such questions as whether nonviolence, and in particular fasting, is coercive, whether human society can be organized on a nonviolent basis, and so on.

The book is of such great value at this moment for pacifists in this country because it gets down to cases. Can a nonviolent revolutionary movement be built by those who have not committed themselves to a nonviolent faith or philosophy? Can there be a mass nonviolent movement? If so, do all who join in it have to be fully committed Satyagrahis or pacifists? If pacifists may never injure or destroy other human beings does this also apply to property? (Gandhi's answer is in the negative but I am not going to give it away here.) Should nonregistrants practice resistance in prison? Does the fact that violence occurred in connection with some of Gandhi's campaigns discredit the cause of nonviolence? These and many other such matters are dealt with clearly and convincingly.

The chapter outlining the few principal nonviolent campaigns which Gandhi led is a masterpiece of condensation. There is a useful glossary of Gandhian terms, and appendices give the rules for Satyagrahis which Gandhi drew up before the March to the Sea in 1930, the "Qualifications for a Satyagrahi" published in *Harijan* in 1939, and the "Principal Vows" of the ashram Gandhi founded near Ahmedabad in 1915.

In the concluding pages the author rejects "pacifism" as inadequate but it is to be hoped that no one will be thrown off by this. He means the pacifism which is entirely individual and nonresistant. "What is required is an aggressive nonviolent direct action and an all-out attack on evil." Satyagraha includes "nonresistance and passive resistance, but goes far beyond. It will not rest until all evil is wiped out of existence. . . . The number of protestants against war is increasing and that is certainly a good sign. . . . Unless such people organize and are willing to go to the extent of taking to direct action, they will not be able to dislodge those who stand for violence."

He makes the interesting suggestion that "the Western countries with their more vigorous and active way of life may be able to develop the science of Satyagraha much more rapidly than India" and concludes: "Sometime humanity has to get out of the vicious circle of violence and counter-violence. Satyagraha points the way."

A. J. MUSTE

Novel of Pacifism

Born 1925, by Vera Brittain. Macmillan Company, 1949. 320 pp., $3.50.

Born 1925, the story of an articulate, uncompromising pacifist minister in England during the war, is not a usual tale; nor can a review convey the almost overwhelming sincerity and unshakable conviction of faith in the book. It is possible only to suggest the wisdom and knowledge that are put to use in the story of a man's life and testing in this last World War.

Summarizing briefly (very briefly —considering the infinite, rich and sometimes redundant detail of the book) Robert Carbury, winner of the Victoria Cross for courage in the First World War, became Vicar of St. Saviours Church in London, a course which is both an act of expiation for his part in the war, and one of affirmation. He became an immensely popular preacher—one who "possessed no superficial charm of manner. The secret of his attractiveness lay in his capacity for becoming absorbed by the problems of each human being with whom his life brought him in contact." He had arrived slowly and painfully at his deep conviction that all war was wrong, and that his mission was to spend his life and energy in preaching this truth, and the social and political implications of this truth. The story of his marriage with Sylvia Salveson, a beautiful actress whose first husband was killed in the war, is moving and believable. Their child Adrian grows up under the shadow of coming war and his life has this real terror added to all the imaginary terrors of childhood, the phantoms of adolescence, and the conflict between himself and his father.

The double theme of the misunderstanding and conflict between generations and the bloody conflict between nations runs parallel throughout the book. There are no morally black or white characters in this novel. The people are brave, tired, inconsistent, troubled, temporarily happy, sad, unwise, capable of great heights and many shallow depths, riddled with faults and clothed by virtues—as are the living.

The manner of telling is leisurely, full of intimate and unsparing detail of all phases of the family's life, their thoughts and surroundings. There is an assurance of truth in this accumulation of familiar detail through the days and years, and yet the book is hampered throughout by a stiff and burdened method of speech, an unnatural creaking of pedantic words. The medium of transmitting thought should be as clear, persuasive and beautiful as possible to convey a message of such wisdom and humanity as this. It is Vera Brittain's intensity of spirit and sheer nar-

THE REVIEWERS

RICHARD GREGG worked with Gandhi in India and is author of the pacifist classic *The Power of Non-Violence* . . . JOSEPHINE JOHNSON is an FOR member and a novelist whose *Now in November* was a Pulitzer Prize winner a few years ago . . . A. J. MUSTE is national secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

rative skill rather than any beauty of words that lift the book to the heights it does achieve and save it from tedious moralizing. The passages relating the sermons of the Vicar and embodying the Church rituals are some of the finest in the book. Life takes on a greater richness of meaning and is not wasted when lived in faith, and death is neither loss nor finality. In the end there is understanding; and the long painful conflicts, both personal and social, become resolved. The son Adrian approaches his father's wisdom in his own way and time. There is hope, Vera Brittain believes, that nations may achieve a wisdom also in their time.

JOSEPHINE W. JOHNSON

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Letters

Pacifism An 'Issue'?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Could it be that the pacifist movement will have to seek a divorce from the civil liberties movement? When the marriage began, there were plenty of indications that it would be a happy one. After all, who would be more subject to the wiles of that old charmer, Civil Liberties, than the socially minded pacifist? For both parties the romance was a natural, for the pacifist of late years has been peculiarly adept at becoming an Issue, and who loves issues better than Civil Liberties?

So the two have been living together, seemingly in harmony. But as so often happens in the best of marriages, subtle forces have been at work. True, at all the gatherings of his clan, the Pacifist has had nothing but kind words to say about his mate, Civil Liberties. And while not, perhaps, with quite such unclouded enthusiasm, Civil Liberties has done a loyal job of selling her mate to the family back home.

Then why the talk of divorce? It looks like a case of family pressure being put on the Pacifist. Some of the relatives are beginning to feel that it would have been better for the two lovers to have become just good friends rather than partners. The Pacifist, they say, has begun to think of himself more as an Issue than as a Pacifist. This disturbs his family.

The trouble began back in World War II, when such a large proportion of the Pacifist's energies were turned to seeking redress for such CPS grievances as poor pay, insignificant work, and abridged civil liberties. The Pacifist began to act as though his primary function was to prick a warring government into being so inconsistent as to treat COs with kindness. Preoccupation with his role as an Issue many times kept the Pacifist from exercising his true function as the prophet of a new and profoundly different way in governmental (and other) affairs.

Rumblings in the family began. "After all," said some of the aunts and uncles, "does not the very logic of our belief indicate that it would be dishonest for a warring government to turn and treat its COs with nonviolence, while busily perpetrating Hiroshimas?"

The family pressure eased a bit with the coming of "peace"—until the cold war warmed itself up with a peacetime draft. Now the old issue again threatens pacifist family unity, for the sons are once more going to prison. Shall the pacifist spend his limited energies seeking an easy way for his draft-ensnared nonregistrant brethren? All the old arguments are ready, to the effect that "jailing men for conscience' sake is morally abhorrent and cannot serve the true interest of the people of this country or of mankind," as is stated in the prepared draft for a "Peacemakers" public letter, circulated November 1948. Is that the witness pacifists wish to bear?

Or shall the Pacifist listen to those relatives who *abhor* the thought of publicly throwing themselves into the arms of whatever mercies they may ferret out in our bristling world? They are telling him

that the job is to *bear witness*, breaking unjust laws if necessary, and not to waste an ounce of his meagre strength in efforts to fend off the results of his actions. Leave the fending off, they say, to those who want to specialize in it. Meanwhile, let pacifists be pacifists, not issues. When one of our number is imprisoned, let us publicly stand with him, and invite imprisonment for ourselves. Let us not weaken our witness by stooping to an appeal to the fake conscience of our government with a request that it "find ways of ending the policy of imprisoning these young men."

This, then, is the way some of the relatives are talking. What about the marriage in the face of family pressures? Well, if Civil Liberties could go on living with a Pacifist who has forgotten all about being an Issue, maybe things could be patched up.

STANLEY R. GOULD
Three Rivers, California

Pacifists Incognito

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In November FELLOWSHIP I read "Milton Mayer of the Great Books Foundation *and* FELLOWSHIP. . . ." Thus I have it proved that Mr. Mayer of the Great Books and our Mr. Mayer are one and the same person! No, I didn't know this, though I was getting hot on the trail.

You see our Vancouver daily had quite a headline, photo and everything, of Mr. Milton Mayer of Great Books Foundation and connected with Chicago University. Same name—Chicago—everything in order; how odd, couldn't be; two there then, very odd.

How could I be so misled? Well, the paper would never feature such a horrible man as our Milton, a man who actually said he would "sit the next war out" and did, I presume (I never read the sequel) and has never left off throwing discredit on the noble war which has preserved our way of life and so on. They would never be able to present such a man in such a matter-of-fact way, just as if he were a normal person.

Can't pacifists do something about this traveling around "incognito"? The reporters introduce other people to us frequently enough—his record in the war was thus and thus, or, during the war years Mr. So-and-So was active in edging it on etc., etc. Why couldn't they have given us Mr. Mayer's record instead of suddenly producing him out of a hat? Why couldn't they even have said ". . . *and* FELLOWSHIP" as you have? True, that would still mean nothing to 99.9% of the people, but at least I would have been put right. They took a photo. Suppose he had had big letters on his coat, fore and aft, "I sat the war out!" or "Down with the scientists!" and so make impossible this iron curtain between Milton Mayer the scholar, and Milton Mayer the pacifist. He who wants the former must also have the latter!

I am quite convinced that you, Mr. Editor, A. J. Muste, et al, could pass through Vancouver and the readers of the daily papers would have no idea of your "war record." No doubt, if necessary, they could even give a brief biography that wouldn't turn a hair on anybody's head.

How can we get the record straight?

ALEC C. BEASLEY
Kelowna, B. C., Canada

Red-Baiting

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have a concern. It is that FELLOWSHIP does nothing but promote antagonism, especially so in regard to Communists.

In the last two issues there have been articles on the topic of "You can't work with Communists," going quite a way back into history; Dorothy Detzer's being an occasion in 1934, when Earl Browder

was the leader of the Communists. But my point is "Why bring all this up?" I feel it does harm.

It does harm because Communists are now under fanatical attack—a fanaticism that more than matches their own. Every word said against communism *now*, true or untrue, adds to that flame of hate. *Now* is the time, if anything is said, to point out the consistencies of Communists, to counteract in as many ways as we honestly can the storm of hatred and injustice being directed at them, and not only at *them* but at innocent associates, men slightly interested. Some who are entirely innocent have had careers ruined by our crazy witch hunt.

My suggestion is that we turn on Communists and Russians a constant stream of good will. And let us be charitable. Let us remember they are as they are through an awful environment—a world situation which produces just such things and worse. Let us also remember that Communists are—shall I say idealists? Yes, in a sense they are. They are trying in the communist way to protest this awful environment and to make the world better.

I don't believe anybody who reads FELLOWSHIP is thinking of working with the Communists. I wish we were. If God could only bring it about so that we might work with them! Let the Fellowship of Reconciliation publish all those facts and arguments that will reconcile—only them, and lots of them.

TREVOR TEELE
Ithaca, New York

[Neither the editors of FELLOWSHIP nor the staff of the FOR have any wish to add in any way to the present hysteria against Communists and suspected Communists. Instead, as should be evident from the statement of the National Council published in the September issue, they are concerned that the civil liberties of all minorities be maintained, and opposed to such tactics of persecution as have distinguished the proceedings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Moreover, their belief in the sacredness of *every* human personality would not permit them to counsel FELLOWSHIP readers not to associate with Communists as individuals.

None of this alters the fact, however, that on the *organizational* level Communists are consistently guilty of such tactics as those described by Miss Detzer and Mr. Milgram, and that the common-front groups they sponsor frequently have actual purposes vastly different from their professed ends. It is also unfortunately true that many sincere liberals and pacifists, misled by statements of noble aims and often reacting against the red-baiting to which the writer of the letter refers, do participate in such Communist-inspired and -dominated groups.

No FOR member, however deep his concern to avoid war, would have suggested in the prewar years participation by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in anti-war activities of the German-American Bund. For exactly the same reasons, the FOR cannot cooperate with the far more skilfully devious Communist and Communist-inspired efforts of the present, no matter how noble-sounding their stated purposes may be. The two articles—and the only two—that have been published on this subject had as their purpose the reminder that one is not necessarily a saint because one is persecuted.—The Editors.]

Paying for Their Arrest?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Some pacifists contend it is a virtue to pay taxes which will apply toward blowing the world to bits, because the

government also performs some "useful" non-military functions.

One of the non-military functions they are paying for is the arrest, trial and imprisonment of their non-registrant fellow pacifists. Some, as I did in World War II, even pay for their own arrest.

WALTER GORMLY
Mt. Vernon, Iowa

To Set the Record Straight

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In your issue of December 1948 there is a statement that as Stuart Perkoff's lawyer I tried, together with the District Attorney, to persuade him to change his mind and register for the draft. This statement is untrue. I did not attempt to influence Perkoff one way or the other but merely pointed out to him the nature and consequences of his action. I believe that everyone should follow his conscience in these matters, and hence one should not try to persuade a man to obey the law if he feels that it is morally wrong for him to do so. Your article implies that I violated this principle, which I have always been careful to observe, and therefore I hope that you will publish this letter by way of correction.

JULIEN CORNELL
New York City

FELLOWSHIP's information on this point, gleaned from several sources, evidently was in error. FELLOWSHIP was at fault in not checking directly with Julien Cornell, and proffers its apologies to him.—Ed.

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Gandhi's Legacy— — — — —

It's a little over a year since Mahatma Gandhi, the beloved Gandhiji of people all over the world, died. After the outpouring of grief of the peoples, after the sometimes sincere and sometimes hypocritical expressions of sorrow by the rulers of the nations, there has been an even more enduring tribute in the issuance of a number of books which show what a truly deep mark he made on all of us and on our time.

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